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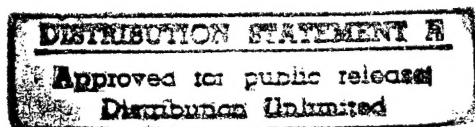
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THE INTERNATIONAL CHARACTER OF LENINISM

- USSR -

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FOREWORD

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THE INTERNATIONAL CHARACTER OF LENINISM

[Following is a translation of an article by M. I. Sidorov and K. L. Seleznev in Voprosy Istorii KPSS (Problems of History of the CPSU), No. 2, Moscow, 1960, pages 120-138.]

Under the banner of Leninism hundreds of millions of people in Europe and Asia are building a new, socialist life. In the countries of capital, workers are fighting under this banner for a transition to the socialist system. In Leninism, working people see the banner of their liberation. Leninist ideas of a firm peace between peoples are winning the support of the majority of the population of the earth. The works of V. I. Lenin are translated into all the languages of the world, have penetrated to all corners of the globe. Leninism appears in the public arena as an international teaching which does not know national boundaries.

Just what is the key to this extraordinary force and worldwide dissemination of Leninism? Above all Leninism reveals the objective natural laws of social development of the entire world and thereby responds to the urgent needs of the contemporary epoch of the history of mankind. It depends on the development of worldwide advanced science and social thought, on the experience of the world socialist movement, and is the most progressive and genuinely scientific ideology of the present day.

The teachings of Marx and Engels illuminated the essence of the working movement and its tasks with the bright light of knowledge. Marx gave a scientific explanation of the contemporary social system, discerning behind its different manifestations in different countries a common basis -- the capitalist social formation -- and, uncovering the natural laws of its origin, development, and destruction, showed the inevitability of the replacement of capitalism by the higher communist system. The main thing in Marx's teaching is an explanation of the world-historic role of the proletariat as the grave-digger of capitalism and the creator of the communist society. Having accomplished this great scientific discovery, Marx armed the workers' movement of all countries of the world with a theory and a program. Revolutionary Marxism -- and only it -- has turned out to be capable of guiding the world liberation struggle of the proletariat.

Marx's revolutionary theory grew out of the totality of the revolutionary experience and revolutionary thought of all countries of the world. It bound into one unbreakable whole the theory and

practice of the class struggle of the proletariat. Its correctness has been proved by the world experience of the 19th and 20th centuries; it has become the banner of millions of the working masses, the banner of all proletarian parties.

The new circumstances under which the proletariat and its parties have had to act in the 20th century demanded a further enrichment and development of Marxist revolutionary theory, an answer to the new questions posed by life. Under the conditions of imperialism and the further intensification of the class struggle, the previous forms of struggle and organizations of the working class became clearly insufficient even for the defense of the direct needs and conquests of the proletariat, let alone the tasks of the transition to the attack on capital and the conquest of political power. The development of the strike struggle in Germany, France and Italy, the popular disturbances in Spain, the general strikes of 1902 in Belgium and Sweden, and especially the mighty political movements of the workers in Russia in 1901-1903 (the "Obukhovskiy [factory] defense," the Rostov and Baku strikes, and others) showed the search of the working class for new, more decisive and powerful means of struggle, and showed the growth of its revolutionary energy and organizational qualities. Each blow at capitalism in one country or another acquired the significance of a blow at one of the links of the general system of imperialism, and consequently was a blow at this entire system.

Marx and Engels foresaw the possibility and the inevitability of an intensification of the class battles of the proletariat, and the necessity of the proletariat's use of sharper forms of struggle. At a time when the reactionary "exclusion law" which for twenty years had banished the German Social Democratic Party to the underground was crashing down under the pressure of the working class, Engels foresaw the possibility of a course of events which might force the party again to pass over to the illegal path, and advised that its illegal apparatus be preserved "in reserve." (K. Marx and F. Engels, Soch. [Works], Volume XVI, part II, pages 70, 71.) He assigned special significance to the development of work in the army. In his last article for the press Engels emphasized the necessity of subordinating all forms of struggle to the main goal -- the conversion of the proletariat into a decisive force before which all other forces would willy-nilly have to yield. Engels urgently advised the socialists to master all forms of mass struggle, including the chances "of future possible street battles," taking into consideration the fact that "it would be necessary to apply the street struggle with more significant forces." He demanded that it not be permitted that the decisive battle be postponed, shunned, thus costing greater casualties. (Ibid., page 483.)

Behind the city the countryside undertook the struggle. The yoke of feudal and semi-feudal exploitation in the eastern European and non-European countries, the social calamities which had arisen especially in connection with the prolonged agrarian crisis of the

beginning of the 20th century, the ruin and enslavement of the peasantry by the monopolies -- all this overfilled the cup of endurance. In the countryside more and more often separate but mighty movements against the landowners erupted. The working peasantry by the course of life was turned from a reserve of the bourgeoisie into a real ally of the proletariat.

The transition to imperialism signified the formation of powerful international imperialist alliances, a consolidation of the forces of reaction, and the headlong growth of war danger. One after another, wars unfolded among individual countries and peoples in different parts of the world, international military blocs were built up, and the distribution of forces was completed for the coming world war, which promised innumerable calamities for tens and hundreds of millions of people.

Under these conditions, a new, immeasurably more profound, truly decisive significance was acquired by the international solidarity of the proletariat, and by the consequent international unity of the workers' organizations of all countries, and first of all of their leading detachment -- the socialist parties.

Capitalism, having attained the monopolistic stage of development, threatened the working class with an unprecedented intensification of oppression and by a liquidation of the conquests already achieved through difficult struggle. At the same time, before the proletariat there opened the perspective of winning to its side mighty allies in the nonproletarian masses of toilers, in the enslaved peoples, and in all opponents of war. The proletarian revolution was becoming a question of direct practice.

Under such conditions, the question of the political parties of the working class acquired extremely great significance for the fate of the labor movement and socialism. On the maturity and battle-readiness of the parties, their ability to carry the masses after them, to overcome any hindrances, depended to a decisive degree the very outcome of the struggle. Their intolerance toward opportunism, toward vacillations within their own ranks, became the first condition of victory.

Meanwhile, the leaders of the parties of the Second International not only were not able to see these new circumstances and to turn the movement to face the new tasks, but they consigned to oblivion the precepts and warnings of the great teachers of the working class. The most authoritative representatives of the parties of the Second International, to whose voices the socialists listened especially, began to backslide to the path of a tolerant attitude toward opportunism, to the path of centrism.

In the various socialist parties of Western Europe and America there began to form groups of left radicals, alarmed at the growing danger of opportunism and the indecisiveness of the actions of the recognized leaders of these parties. Their voices were already heard

at the congresses of the parties and of the International. But they did not yet find in themselves the strength to subject the conditions which had been created to a fearless, profoundly Marxist analysis, and to draw from it active, revolutionary conclusions. As a result, the revolutionary movement lost the true orientation, was doomed to inaction.

The historical circumstances authoritatively demanded of the socialist movement a clear answer to the pressing, sharpest questions posed by life. The millions of proletarian masses, in whose bosoms revolutionary energy and passion for struggle were accumulating, were in need of revolutionary leadership. A change in the very style of work of the proletarian parties was demanded, in the spirit of the education and training of the masses for revolution. Needed were parties of a new type. The tested Marxist theory, which had truly served as a compass to the proletarian parties, and which had always pointed out to them the road to the future, had to be raised to a new level responding to the epoch of imperialism and of the proletarian revolutions, to answer the basic questions posed by world development. And this answer was given in the works of V. I. Lenin.

Lenin laid the basis for the new stage in the history of the liberation struggle of the world proletariat, in the history of revolutionary thought. Leninism -- Marxism of the new epoch -- gave an answer to the most pressing questions of the proletarian movement, theoretically illuminated the class struggle of the proletariat and showed it the true road to victory.

The founder and leader [Vozhd'] of the part of Bolsheviks, V. I. Lenin, as early as the beginning of the 1890's had been distinguished as an excellently educated Marxist, a profound expert in the revolutionary theory of Marx and in the experience of the international labor movement. It is possible without exaggeration to say that neither in Russia nor in the entire world after Engels was there then a Marxist who in this regard could have been compared with Lenin. Knowledge of life, of the world experience of the proletarian struggle, of the most recent achievements of science, profoundly confirmed Lenin in the thought that only Marxism -- that integrated and harmonious revolutionary teaching -- truly reflects and explains the natural laws of social development and the class struggle, that all the development and the class struggle, that all the development of society, all the experience of the revolutionary movement and of the struggle of the enslaved classes confirm more and more the correctness of Marxist views.

Lenin kept this unhesitating loyalty to the teachings of Marx all his life, always angrily pouncing upon the slightest departure from those teachings. Many years later, during the difficult years of the world war, when many so-called Marxists who had previously vowed fidelity to the teachers betrayed their banners, Lenin in a

sincere letter to the Bolshevik Ines Armand wrote: "I am still 'enamoured' with Marx and Engels, and I cannot calmly bear any distractions of them whatever. No, these were real people! One must learn from them. We should not depart from this soil. From this soil the social-chauvinists and the Kautskyites have departed." (V. I. Lenin, Soch. [Works], Volume 35, page 225.)

V. I. Lenin's very great devotion to Marxism was expressed above all in the fact that he throughout all his life again and again turned to the works of the founders of Marxism, continually experiencing the need "to consult with Marx." Lenin always turned to the works of his teachers anew and afresh, basing the policy of the party on Marxism. Lenin was intolerant of the slightest departure from Marxism and severely attacked all who encroached on the purity of Marxist theory. It is known with what passion Lenin inveighed against the Bernsteinians and Kautskyites, the Trotskyites and other opportunists, as he stood guard over revolutionary Marxism.

However, a bookish, abstract acceptance of Marxist theory was foreign to V. I. Lenin. For him Marxism was always not a dead dogma, but a living guide to revolutionary action. It was impossible to be a revolutionary Social Democrat, wrote Lenin, without taking part as much as one could in the elaboration and application of Marxist revolutionary theory. Loyalty to Marxism not only does not exclude the further elaboration of this theory, but, on the contrary, obliges Marxists toward its creative development. And throughout his entire life Lenin untiringly elaborated and moved forward Marxist theory, and raised ever higher the lamp of this revolutionary science, lighting for the masses the way ahead toward the triumph of communism. There is not a single field of Marxist studies in which Lenin did not introduce his great contribution, raising revolutionary theory to a higher level.

V. I. Lenin was filled with a sense of the high responsibility which rests on every revolutionary Marxist for the fate of the proletarian revolution not only in his own country but also throughout the entire world. Surveying the path surmounted by the Bolshevik party with a feeling of natural pride, he used to say: "Bolshevism has helped the cause of the development of the proletarian revolution in Europe and in America more strongly than any other party in any other country has managed to do to this day." (V. I. Lenin, Works, Volume 28, page 270.)

Lenin posed and decided all questions of Marxist theory and policy, questions of the labor movement in each country, from the standpoint of the interests of the international liberation movement of the proletariat, taking into consideration the state of international capitalism and the course of the struggle of the classes throughout the entire world. "From the point of view of Marxism," he said, "it is absurd to dwell on the situation in one country alone when speaking about imperialism, at a time when the capitalist

countries are so closely tied to one another." (V. I. Lenin, Works, Volume 24, page 208.) In this ability to appraise each phenomenon from the point of view of the interests of the world liberation struggle of the proletariat is the mighty source of the strength of Leninism, the visible expression of its international character.

The working out by Lenin of the basic problems of the economic development of Russia, his irrefutable demonstration of the fact that the very same natural laws of the development of capitalism discovered by Marx were operating in Russia as in the other countries of the world -- this had outstanding international significance.

Marx, with the very great scientific conscientiousness natural to him, in his time had warned the Russian revolutionaries against attempts to appraise the analysis of the origin and development of capitalism given by him as "an historical-philosophical theory about a universal path" along which all peoples were going to pass, until the evolution of the Russian economy had been profoundly studied and its specific nature revealed. (See K. Marx and F. Engels, Izbrannyye Pis'ma [Selected Letters], Moscow, 1947, pages 315, 316.) Lenin not only routed Russian populism and cleared the road for the victory of Marxism in the Russian revolutionary movement. He showed the applicability of Marxist economic theory to the analysis of the development of one of the largest countries of Europe and Asia and thereby raised still higher its demonstrative strength, and inflicted a most powerful blow upon one of the most tenacious branches of international petty-bourgeois socialism.

The analysis given by V. I. Lenin of the development of capitalism in Russia theoretically armed the socialists of countries entering the path of capitalist development in the 20th century, helped them in the working out of firm theoretical foundations of the socialist movement. Particular revolutionary significance was and is attached to the principle -- advanced by Lenin on the basis of an analysis of the distribution of class forces in Russia -- that the strength of the proletariat in the historical movement is immeasurably greater than is its share in the total mass of the population. (See V. I. Lenin, Works, Volume 3, page 9.) This principle overturned the trivial dogma of the theoreticians of the Second International concerning the "automatic" dependence of the role of the proletariat on its share [of the population], and cleared the ground for the bold unleashing of the struggle of the proletariat for socialism in all countries, including those (which were then a majority) where the proletariat constituted a lesser part of the population.

On the basis of a profound analysis of reality, Lenin revealed the natural laws of the development of capitalism in the new epoch of world history, discovered imperialism as the highest and last stage in the development of capitalism. Scientifically characterizing the general natural laws of imperialism, its concrete manifestations and peculiarities in all the most important countries of the world, Lenin

defined it as "the eve of the social revolution of the proletariat." (V. I. Lenin, Works, Volume 22, page 182.) This scientific discovery had and has genuinely world significance. It serves as an example of the creative approach to the revolutionary theory of Marx. The proletariat of all countries acquired in it a firm theoretical foundation for the struggle against capitalism. By depending on this theory, the proletariat was able to work out new strategy and tactics and means of organization of its forces, to reorganize its ranks.

In the example of Russia V. I. Lenin discovered enormous revolutionary possibilities, possibilities including for the proletariat the struggle for democracy. "It would be a basic mistake to think," wrote Lenin, "that the struggle for democracy is capable of diverting the proletariat from the socialist revolution, or of taking its place, overshadowing its, and so forth. On the contrary, as victorious socialism is impossible without accomplishing full democracy, so the proletariat cannot be prepared for the victory over the bourgeoisie without conducting an all-round, consistent and revolutionary struggle for democracy." (Ibid., page 133.)

The support by the proletariat of the democratic demands of the peasantry acquires special significance in this. With the exception of England, where the peasantry as an independent social class has already ceased to exist, in all the other countries of Western Europe and America it has continued to represent a serious social force, and in the countries of Eastern Europe, Asia, Latin America, and in an overwhelming number of countries of the world it has predominated. As subsequent historical experience has also shown, in not even one of the countries which have undergone bourgeois revolutions have the revolutionary capabilities of the peasantry yet been close to exhausted. The Leninist idea of the alliance of the working class and the peasantry as the main means of overthrowing absolutism, landowners and bourgeoisie, an alliance in which the hegemony belongs to the proletariat, has opened before the working class of all countries an extremely broad perspective of victorious struggle against imperialism, a perspective of powerful popular revolutions.

V. I. Lenin advanced the bold idea of the alliance of the proletariat of the developed countries with the oppressed peoples of the East. With profound sympathy, he noted the origin of the militant revolutionary-democratic movement in China and in other countries of Asia, appraising this movement as a constituent part of the world liberation struggle. "The awakening of Asia and the beginning of the struggle for power by the advanced proletariat of Europe mean that a new period of world history has been opened at the beginning of the 20th century," he wrote. (V. I. Lenin, Works, Volume 19, page 66.)

To the extent that the movement of the popular masses of the East began to inflict more and more powerful blows at international imperialism, Lenin more and more decisively advanced and defended the profound thought that the coming socialist revolution "will not be

only and mainly a struggle of the revolutionary proletariats in each country against their own bourgeoisie -- no, it will be a struggle of all colonies and countries oppressed by imperialism, of all dependent countries against international imperialism." (V. I. Lenin, Works, Volume 30, page 138,) And while the oppressed peoples would not be able to cope with the imperialist robbers in isolation, without the aid and guidance of the proletariat of the advanced countries, also the workers of the advanced countries "will not conquer with the aid of the toiling masses of all oppressed colonial peoples, and first of all the peoples of the East." (Ibid., page 140.) Thus Leninism revealed to the world liberation movement of the working class the true road to victory.

Generalizing the experience of the Russian and international revolutionary movement, V. I. Lenin worked out the theory of the growing of the bourgeois-democratic revolution into the socialist revolution. Lenin's theory had and has primary international significance, revealing revolutionary perspectives to the working class and the toiling masses of all countries of the world. It overturned the assertions of the opportunists that had erected a wall between the bourgeois revolution, in which to the proletariat allegedly belongs only the role of a powerless observer, and the socialist revolution, in which the proletariat again supposedly falls into a disadvantageous position, since it is doomed to "isolation."

Lenin enriched Marxism with a new theory of the socialist revolution, crowning it with conclusion of the possibility of the victory of socialism initially in a few or even in one separate country -- which permitted the working class of all countries to be armed with a clear notion of the moving forces of revolution, the conditions for its victory, and the prospects for its development. That theory pointed the way to salvation from the imperialist yoke for the working class of each country, unleashed its revolutionary initiative, multiplied its faith in its own strength.

As early as during the dawn of the labor movement in Russia, Lenin, tracing profoundly the course of its historical development and comparing it with the course of development in other countries, came to the conclusion that the center of the international revolutionary movement was being transferred to Russia, that history had posed before the working class of Russia the difficult but at the same time honored immediate task of overthrowing tsarism, the support of European and Asiatic reaction. That task, emphasized V. I. Lenin, was "the most revolutionary of all the immediate tasks of the proletariat of every other country, no matter which," and its solution would make the Russian proletariat the vanguard of the international revolutionary proletariat. (V. I. Lenin, Works, Volume 5, page 345.)

This scientific Lenin discovery had primary international significance. It meant not only that great international responsibility was laid upon the Russian Marxists, but also, above all, the fact that

the parties of the working class of all countries, following their international duty, had to strain all efforts for the rendering of support to the vanguard, to mobilize the forces of the working class of their countries for the cause of revolutionary aid to the detachment of the proletariat marching in the first ranks.

The teaching about the proletarian party and the guiding and organizing force of the workers' movement occupies a most important place in the activity of V. I. Lenin. Lenin theoretically founded the party and built it in practice as the highest form of the class organization of the proletariat, the form called on to lead all the proletariat's other organizations. This principle had important significance for the West European countries, where the leaders of the mass, nonparty workers' organizations, especially the trade unions, jealously disputed the directing and guiding role of the proletarian parties with regard to all other workers' organizations. In his work of genius, Chto Delat'? [What Is To Be Done?], Lenin showed the party as an organization of professional revolutionaries devoted to the cause of socialism, a party strong with a unity of thought and action, capable of penetrating into all strata of the toilers, of applying all forms and means of struggle: offensive and defensive, legal and illegal, peaceful and nonpeaceful. He showed that only such a party, disciplined and flexible, foreign to dogmatism in regard to theory and merciless in the struggle against all manifestations of opportunism, a party of a new type needed by the working class in the present epoch, only it can bring the proletariat to victory in the struggle for power, for socialism.

While giving their due to the services of the old Social Democratic parties of Europe, which had done much for the defense of the direct economic interests of the proletariat and for the initial organization of its ranks, Lenin subjected to criticism the profound internal vices of these parties, revealed their growing unsuitability for the leadership of the class struggle of the proletariat in the epoch of imperialism, revealed the gradual falling away from positions of Marxism by the leading nucleus of the socialist parties, their tolerance for opportunism, which was eating away the movement. Lenin revealed completely the social and ideological bases of opportunism in the workers' movement and the manifestations of this rotten tendency, which had made themselves felt in the forgetting of internationalism and the growth of chauvinistic infection, in the blunting of the class struggle and the growth of tendencies toward class co-operation with the bourgeoisie.

V. I. Lenin scientifically defined the essence of revisionism in the workers' movement, showed its international character, its roots and particular features in different countries, and thereby gave revolutionary Marxists of all countries a sharp ideological weapon for the struggle against revisionism and reformism. Lenin revealed that scandalous and pernicious separation of theory from

practice and of practice from theory which was characteristic of many leaders of the international socialist movement who were eminent in the past and which led them to forget Marxist dialectics, led them into "staring" at one particular form of the growth of the workers' movement and of socialism, namely the form which had responded to the peaceful conditions of 1872-1900, but were afraid to see the breaking of the old, customary notions that had become inevitable, and as a result became bankrupt. Later V. I. Lenin used to say that "the leaders of the workers in the majority of parties, having become accustomed to peaceful times, lost the capacity for revolutionary struggle." (V. I. Lenin, Works, Volume 29, page 216.)

Lenin overcame the separation between revolutionary theory and practice, a separation alien to Marxism, restored their unity and showed their creative interaction and mutual enriching. Lenin's struggle against Russian "economism," with its worship of spontaneity and the lagging of the movement, inflicted a very strong blow upon international revisionism, upon the ideas of Bernstein and his partners, upon the policy of Millerand and his associates.

Defending Marxism and developing it under the new conditions applicable to the epoch of imperialism and proletarian revolutions, Lenin rendered a great contribution to the theory of scientific socialism and to the practice of the international workers' movement. The party of Bolsheviks created by Lenin unfolded before the world the banner of Marxism-Leninism and carried it forward. The founding of the Bolshevik party was the greatest event in the history of the political organization of the world proletariat after the creation of the "Union of Communists" and the First International. In it, the working class obtained a model of a party of a new type, according to whose image and likeness the proletariat would have to create its parties, capable of bringing it to victory. Under the leadership of Lenin, the party of Bolsheviks gave the workers of the entire world an example of internationalism, of selfless service to the higher interests of socialism, carrying out in its country everything it might do for the development of the revolutionary self-consciousness of the workers of the entire world. As the honorary chairman of the Communist Party of the USA, William Z. Foster, points out, "in essence, the party was an embryo of the new, progressive international which was subsequently born in the course of revolutionary events. The victory of Lenin's group in the Marxist circles of Russia in the future rendered the most profound influence not only on the Second International, but also on the entire international movement." (William Z. Foster, Istoriya trekh internatsionalov. Mezhdunarodnoye sotsialisticheskoye i kommunisticheskoye dvizheniye s 1848 goda do nastoyashchego vremeni /A History of Three Internationals. The International Socialist and Communist Movement from 1848 to the Present Time/, Moscow, State Publishing House for Political Literature, 1959, page 195.)

According to the well-known determination by Lenin, Bolshevism has existed as a current of political thought and as a political party since 1903. Already then those basic principles with which Lenin enriched Marxist theory were being formed. From that very time Bolshevism -- Leninism -- emerges on the international arena as a revolutionary current in the world workers' movement, as the party of the social revolution and of the dictatorship of the proletariat, as Marxism of the new epoch, the epoch of the overthrow of capitalism and the victory of communism.

Lenin and the Bolsheviks intently studied the processes going on within the heart of the working class abroad, in the West European and American workers' movement, illuminating them with the light of Marxist theory. Lenin with joy noted new features in the makeup of the working class, noted the strengthening of the revolutionary tendency in its surroundings, the formation of a left wing in the Social Democratic parties. "The army of the proletariat is growing stronger in all countries. Its consciousness, unity, and decisiveness are growing not by days, but by hours," wrote V. I. Lenin after the fresh impression of talks with workers who were delegates of the various countries to the Stuttgart Socialist Congress of 1907. (V. I. Lenin, Works, Volume 13, page 77.)

Lenin and the Bolsheviks made use of all opportunities so that the ideas of revolutionary Marxism might penetrate as deeply and as widely as possible into the mass of the West European working class. Many of the most important documents of the Bolshevik party were published by that party not only in Russian, but also in foreign languages. The Bolsheviks, while they were emigres, visited workers' meetings, worked together in the local labor press, carried to the masses the ideas of Leninism. Lenin, taking part in international congresses, persistently defended the revolutionary political line. At the Stuttgart Congress, at his insistence, a militant resolution was adopted on the struggle against the war danger. In this resolution, for the first time in the history of the Socialist International, there was contained an appeal to the working class of all countries "to make use of the war crisis which is being created for the hastening of the fall of the bourgeoisie." (V. I. Lenin, Works, Volume 13, page 64.)

The Russian revolution of 1905-1907, which struck a blow at the entire imperialist system, opened a new stage in the international workers' movement. It confirmed the rightness of Leninism and refuted the obsolete arguments of the West European and Russian opportunists, and intensified the distinction between the revolutionary and the reformist tendencies in the Social Democratic parties. The lessons of the first Russian revolution helped the formation and development of leftist, revolutionary tendencies in a number of workers' parties. "The Russian revolution," wrote the German left-wing socialist Franz Mering, "is a German victory, a European, an international victory."

The Russian revolution is an international revolution, and since in it the Russian proletariat plays the leading role, that proletariat will still call the proletariat of the civilized world to the barricades." (Leipziger Volkszeitung, 23 January 1905, No. 18.)

The revolution in Russia facilitated the unleashing of economic and political battles of the working class in many countries, and an upsurge of the democratic, peasant, and national liberation movements. The new means and methods of struggle of the proletariat tested by the proletariat of Russia -- mass political strikes, armed uprising, the organization of Soviets of workers' deputies -- became the spiritual inheritance of the leading detachments of the international proletariat. The ideas of Leninism began to penetrate into the midst of the leading, revolutionary workers of many countries. In her greeting speech at the Fifth Congress of the RSDRP [Russian Social Democrat Workers' Party], Rosa Luxemburg, in the name of the German Social Democratic Party, emphasized that it was precisely the Russian Marxists who had turned out to be the first detachment of international social democracy, to whose lot fell the difficult but honored task of applying the foundations of Marxist teaching not in a period of "calm parliamentary current of state life," but in a stormy, revolutionary period. The intensification of class contradictions, she noted, would sooner or later but inevitably lead to a period of stormy political struggle in Germany, too, and therefore the German proletariat with doubled attention was turning its gaze on the struggle of its Russian brothers, "as on its advanced fighters, as on the vanguard of the international working class." At mass meetings, Rosa Luxemburg said, the workers were demanding of the Social Democrats, "Speak to us of the Russian revolution!" (Pyatyy s'yezd RSDRP [The Fifth Congress of the Russian Social Democratic Workers' Party], Moscow, Party Publishing House, 1933, page 110.)

The leaders of the Second International, who were the prisoners of old, outlived notions, perceived the emergence of Leninism on the international arena with distrust and hostility. While welcoming the Russian revolution, they, however, refused to see in it the beginning of a new era in the world workers' movement, refused to reexamine from the point of view of its lessons all the customary forms and methods which had been created in the activity of the socialist parties and mass workers' organizations. "Will such backward countries as Russia really dictate to us our party tactics?" haughtily asked Ansel, one of the leading figures of the Belgian Workers' Party and a member of the International Socialist Bureau.

Among such leaders there arose and began to spread the trivial and hypocritical idea that Leninism and Bolshevism represent a "break with Marxism," a "revival of Blanquism" [Louis August Blanqui, French 19th century revolutionary], and so forth. However, that attempt was utterly routed by V. I. Lenin, who said that it was precisely the Bolsheviks who have kept faith with the revolutionary spirit of the

teachings of Marx, who have saved his precepts from oblivion, who have advanced forward the theory of scientific socialism in application to the new conditions of the class struggle of the proletariat, and that Blanquism has nothing in common with revolutionary Marxism.

Having suffered a failure, the reformists undertook a new attempt to weaken the international significance of Leninism. They began to spread the assertion that the appearance of Leninism had been conditioned wholly and exclusively by special, "exceptional" conditions of Russian reality, while the revolutionary spirit characteristic of Leninism, the capacity for any sacrifices for the sake of the achievement of the goal, the steadfastness in struggle, the intolerance toward any vacillations -- these were supposedly explained only by the burden of the regime of Tsarism in Russia, where the revolutionaries were every minute threatened with penal servitude and the gallows. In Europe, in their opinion, all this had no soil; here allegedly ruled the "regulated" regime of parliamentary democracy.

Of course, in each country there have existed particular conditions which have placed their imprint on the character of the workers' movement of the country. Lenin pointed out that Marx's theory provides only general guiding principles, "which are applied in detail differently toward England than in France, in France differently than in Germany, in Germany differently than in Russia." (V. I. Lenin, Works, Volume 4, page 192.) But in its general essence, Lenin noted, Bolshevism was an example of struggle for all.

In Russia the Social Democrats had had to fight indeed under especially difficult circumstances -- deep underground, under the raging of reaction and under merciless repressions. They were faced by an extremely sharp primary political task: the overthrow of the autocracy. Such a task did not face the Social Democrats of a number of other countries, although "parliamentarism" in Germany, for example, was combined with the military despotism of the monarchy of the Hohenzollerns. The peasant question had special significance under the conditions of Russia, although the revolutionary possibilities of the peasantry were far from exhausted in many other countries. In Russia, in distinction from the countries of Western Europe, Social Democracy began to be put together even before the bourgeois revolution; here the proletariat created its party before the liberal bourgeoisie did. The struggle for the extraction of proletarian democracy from general bourgeois and petty bourgeois democracy went on under conditions of the complete theoretical victory of Marxism within the workers' movement, both in Western Europe and in Russia itself. All this created in Russia a number of advantages to Marxists in comparison with the socialists of foreign countries. But even in Russia, wrote V. I. Lenin, "we see the very same basic processes of development of capitalism, the very same basic tasks of the socialists and the working class...." (V. I. Lenin, Works, Volume 4, page 215.)

The division of the socialists into revolutionary and opportunistic tendencies also was a phenomenon which was not only Russian, but international. Opportunism does not represent any chance phenomenon, is not the result of the betrayal of the workers' cause by individual leaders of socialism, but is the inevitable social product of a whole historical epoch. And Bolshevism, as the most consistent embodiment of the revolutionary tendency in the workers' movement, from the very beginning bore an international character. The basic questions about which it came forward on the historical arena were the basic questions of the revolutionary movement of the proletariat of all countries.

The entire history of the Bolshevik party, the history of the Russian revolution, has brilliantly confirmed the correctness of the views of V. I. Lenin. The lessons of the international workers' movement have confirmed that only Leninism was capable of correctly appraising the circumstances, of defining the tasks, of showing the proletariat the path to victory. This gave V. I. Lenin the possibility of stating that "Bolshevism serves as a model of tactics for all." (V. I. Lenin, Works, Volume 28, page 270.)

As a counterweight to the centrists, the leftists of the Second International strived to draw true conclusions from the experience of the first Russian revolution. "The proletariat has a good teacher -- the Russian revolution," said the outstanding revolutionary Clara Zetkin at the Essen Congress of the German Social Democratic Party.

V. I. Lenin exerted every effort to unite the scattered groups of leftists in the Social Democratic Parties of the different countries, to help them to act more energetically and decisively, and not to let themselves be blinded and frightened by the illusory slogan of a "unity" bought at the price of a rejection of the principles of socialism. During the Stuttgart and Copenhagen international socialist congresses, he convened international consultations of leftist socialists who were deputies of these congresses, helping them to work out a common line of struggle. However, the leftist Social Democrats did not display due decisiveness, did not see the scope of the danger of opportunistic degeneration menacing the Social Democratic parties, and right up to the period of the world war did not advance the slogan of a basic reappraisal of the entire ideology, tactics, and organization of their parties, of a transition to the path of struggle for a party of a new type. For this, Lenin subjected them to just and severe comradely criticism.

During the years of the first world imperialist war the failure of the Second International, conquered by opportunism, became a fact. It was precisely Lenin and the Bolshevik party which were that revolutionary nucleus which put forward to the honest socialists of all countries the task of originating a proletarian International purged of opportunism and capable of leading the struggle of the working class of all countries against the imperialist war, of utilizing the revolutionary crisis created by the war in the interests of the overthrow of

imperialism and the victory of socialism. It was precisely Lenin and the Bolshevik party who were the initiators of the convening of International conferences of internationalist socialists in Zimmerwald and Kintale and the creation at these conferences of a left wing which was the embryo of the future international association of revolutionary Marxists, the Communist International. Toward Lenin were drawn the best, revolutionary forces of the entire world socialist movement. In Italy, recalls P. Togliatti, "the works of Lenin, the documents of the Bolshevik party turned up wherever it was at all possible, they were awaited with ardent impatience, they were translated, they were read and collectively discussed, explained, and distributed in factories." (*Rinascita*, 1951, No. 2, page 37.) The same thing took place in Germany, Holland, Sweden, and in many other countries.

The Bolshevik party, armed with the teachings of V. I. Lenin, demonstrated a model of carrying into practice the only revolutionary tactic of using the political crisis created by the war in the interests of the overthrow of imperialism and the establishment of the power of the working class. Even before the working class of Russia took power into its own hands, Lenin in his "April Theses" enriched Marxist theory with a new important principle about the republic of Soviets of workers, peasants, and soldiers deputies -- a state form of the power of the working class and the poorest peasantry fostered by life itself in the course of the Russian revolution. The Soviet power, established in Russia under the leadership of the party of Bolsheviks headed by V. I. Lenin as a result of the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution, represents precisely such a mighty and unconquerable political power, connected in all its roots with the popular masses, strong with the support of all the people, a truly democratic power of the enormous majority of the people.

The victory of the October Revolution opened a new era in the history not only of the peoples of Russia, but of all mankind. It deprived world capitalism forever of its former stability, and laid the basis for the existence of the Soviet state. The October Revolution which conquered under the banner of Leninism has rendered and continues to render powerful influence on the course of the revolutionary movement in all countries. It served as a stimulus for mass movements of the working class in many countries of Europe and America, awoke for good the dozing revolutionary forces of the oppressed peoples of the East, and laid the basis for the crisis and disintegration of the entire colonial system of imperialism.

The victory of the October Revolution was a victory of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism. It showed convincingly that the basic features of this revolution have international significance, that they inevitably are displayed in each country where the proletariat is rising to assault capitalism. The advanced fighters for the cause of socialism in all countries began to understand this. The broadest masses of the workers felt this; among them was born the slogan, "Act as in Russia!"

On the soil of the recognition of Leninism as their ideological foundation, on the soil of following the example of the Russian Bolsheviks, the first communist parties, communist groups and currents in foreign countries were born, and their first international association arose -- the Third Communist International. The founding of the Comintern, which gathered under its banner all advanced, conscious supporters of revolutionary Marxism, was a visible confirmation of the fact that Leninism had become a great, active international force. "Bolshevism," wrote V. I. Lenin, "has become the world theory and tactics of the international proletariat." (V. I. Lenin, Works, Volume 28, page 96.)

At this turning point in the history of the world socialist movement, the reformists again tried to bar to Leninism the way to the international proletariat, advancing false arguments about the "unsuitability" of Leninism as a universal teaching about the paths of liberation of the working class. For example, at the Congress of the Socialist Party of France in Tours in 1920, L. Blum, M. Samba, and P. Boncour asserted that the tactics of Bolshevism allegedly could be crowned with success "only in a backward country." However, the overwhelming majority of the congress rejected the reformists, and took the path of Lenin. (See Maurice Thorez, "Oktyabr' ukazal nam put'" [October Pointed the Way for Us], Voprosy Istorii KPSS, 1957, No. 3, page 93.) Leninism became the banner of the struggle of newer and newer millions of people in all countries of the world.

In reports to the congresses of the Communist International, and in numerous works, V. I. Lenin worked out the basic questions of the program, strategy and tactics of the international workers' and communist movement, questions of the organizational structure of the communist parties. Lenin solicitously supported their first steps, helped with wise advice, with frank, comradely criticism of their mistakes, and generously shared with them the extremely rich experience of the revolutionary struggle that had been accumulated by the Russian communists. In his remarkable work, "The Infantile Disorder of 'Leftism' in Communism," which was translated into many foreign languages, Lenin summed up the experience of the Bolshevik party and armed the fraternal communist parties with it.

V. I. Lenin warned the communists against the mechanical transference, under varying conditions, of one and the same forms and means of organization and struggle. The proletarian revolution, he pointed out, is growing in all countries, but is growing unevenly. The road which the working class will have to pass through in the different countries cannot fail to be distinguished by certain particular features. Communists should therefore "take into consideration all the variety of conditions under which the different parties have to fight and to act." (V. I. Lenin, Works, Volume 31, page 186.) At the same time, V. I. Lenin tirelessly reminded that the basic historical laws which had been displayed in the victorious experience of the October

Revolution and of the Soviet state were inherent in all countries taking the path of socialism and were obligatory for all. "Europe," said Lenin, "is going toward the revolution not as we have gone, but Europe in essence is doing the same thing." (V. I. Lenin, Volume 30, page 396.) The movement is going more slowly, but it is going without deviation, "along that very same road which the Bolsheviks are pointing out." (*Ibid.*, page 115.)

Even after the war the Social Democratic parties kept their influence on significant masses of the working class. The young communist parties yielded to them in numbers. V. I. Lenin insistently called on the communists to expand their influence among the masses by every means, to go into the trade unions, to use the parliamentary tribune, to carry on a strike struggle, to strive for unity of actions with all workers' organizations, to recruit into its ranks new supporters. By the time of the Fifth Congress of the Comintern (1924), communist parties had arisen already in 52 countries and numbered more than a million (1,222,035) members (including 446,089 persons in the ranks of the All-Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks)). (Kommunisticheskiy Internatsional pered shestym Vsemirnym kongressom /The Communist International Before the Sixth World Congress/, Moscow, State Publishing House, 1928, pages 35, 33.)

The world communist movement grew and strengthened under the leadership of V. I. Lenin, under the banner of Leninism. "French communists," Maurice Thorez said at the 20th CPSU Congress, "... pride themselves on the fact that in 1920 they responded to the appeal of Lenin, recognizing the necessity of a revolutionary reorganization of society for the securing of the future of their people and their country." (XX s"ezd Kommunisticheskoy partii Sovetskogo Soyuza. Stenograficheskiy otchet /The 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Stenographic Report/, Moscow, State Publishing House for Political Literature, 1956, Volume 1, page 343.)

The millions of masses of the enslaved East saw in Lenin the herald of their freedom. Speaking in 1924 in Canton at a meeting in memorial tribute to V. I. Lenin, Sun Yat-sen, the outstanding leader of the struggle for the freedom of the Chinese people, said: "For many centuries of world history there have appeared thousands of leaders /vozhdi/ and teachers with pretty words on their lips which were never put into effect. Thou, Lenin, art an exception. Thou hast not only spoken and taught, but put thy words into reality. Thou created a new country. Thou pointed the way for us for joint struggle. Thou encountered on thy path thousands of obstacles which are encountered also on my path. I want to go by thy path, and although my enemies are against this, my people will salute me for this. Thou hast died, heaven has not extended thy life, but in the memory of the oppressed peoples thou wilt live for centuries, great man!" (Min-go Ji-pao, 25 February 1924.)

Under the banner of Leninism the workers and peasants of the Soviet land beat off the attacks of the enemies, restored the economy destroyed by war, laid the foundations of the socialist social system, and built their socialist state. The living practice of socialist construction served for Lenin as a source of further development of the theory of scientific communism.

Theoretically summing up the experience of millions creating a new social system, V. I. Lenin worked out from every side a plan of construction of socialist economy, a plan of the building of socialism and communism in the USSR. Lenin worked out the principles of the nationality policy of the party, the foundations of the foreign policy of the Soviet state and of the structure of the armed forces of socialism, smashed the anarcho-syndicalist and other petty bourgeois tendencies alien to Marxism, and enriched with new principles the teaching of the party as a monolithic organization intolerant of all factionalism. The practice of socialist construction, the entire history of the Communist Party and the Soviet state fully confirmed Lenin's views. Lenin's teachings on the transition period from capitalism to socialism, on the tasks of the party and of the socialist state, raised Leninism to a new height. It had and has primary significance for the working class of all countries that enter the path of socialism.

Lenin's teachings are all-powerful because they are true. The truth of Leninism, its vitality, are confirmed by the experience of the history of the 20th century; the experience of the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat of all countries, the experience of the construction of socialism in the USSR, and the scientific discoveries of our era have fully confirmed the basic principles of Leninism.

During the years and decades of the building of socialism Leninism has become a mighty, irresistible spiritual and material force.

Going along the path indicated by Lenin, the Soviet Union has achieved the complete and final victory of socialism and is confidently moving toward communism, paving the way for all mankind to a bright future. Nowadays Marxism-Leninism as a scientific theory of the revolutionary transformation of bourgeois society into a socialist society is based not only on theoretical principles, on a logical analysis of the social movements of past eras. Now, it leans firmly on the positive experience of the construction of socialism in the USSR and in many other countries of Europe and Asia. And the main thing here is the forty years of experience of the construction of socialism in the USSR. That which has been achieved in the land of the Soviets in forty years could have been achieved only by a people freed of the yoke of the landowners and capitalists, by a people which had raised itself up to creative activity, by a people armed with the truest compass -- the continually developing scientific theory of Marxism-Leninism.

The complete and final victory of socialism in the USSR, attained under the banner of Leninism, is the greatest, decisive test and a convincing confirmation by practice of the teachings of V. I. Lenin, the most convincing and vivid demonstration of its international significance.

The new stage in the historical development of humanity connected with the successes of socialist and communist construction in the countries of socialism found its majestic and brilliant reflection in the successes of all the countries of socialism and especially in the seven-year plan of development of the national economy of the USSR. It is difficult to overestimate the great significance of the seven-year plan for the present and future of the entire world communist movement, for the progress of all mankind! The successes of the fulfillment of the seven-year plan mean a new victory of Marxism-Leninism on the international arena. They are drawing to the side of socialism millions and millions of new recruits. The seven-year plan adopted by the 21st Congress of the CPSU, is uplifting -- and the longer, the more it will uplift -- tens and hundreds of millions of people not only in the countries of socialism, but in all other countries of the world to new great feats in the name of peace and democracy, in the name of communism. It is rendering enormous influence on the development of the social and economic structure of the world.

V. I. Lenin repeatedly emphasized that the Soviet land renders and will render its main influence on the contemporary world through its economic policy, through its successes in the field of economic construction. In the report on the activity of the Soviet government at the 8th Congress of the Soviets in 1920, V. I. Lenin said: "... If Russia will build a thick network of electric stations and mighty technical equipment, then our communist economic construction will become a model for the future socialist Europe and Asia." (V. I. Lenin, Works, Volume 31, page 486.)

Now the realization in life of Lenin's designs is evident with particular clarity. Our economic construction has been a model for many countries which have taken the path of socialism. And with the completion of the seven-year plan, the influence of the socialist system on the world will grow immeasurably. The seven-year plan is showing the superiority of socialism over capitalism in all spheres of economic construction, of the scientific and intellectual development of Soviet society and the Soviet man. The peoples of the world see in Leninism the true path to well-being, to a happy and free life.

The strength of Leninism is in the world socialist system uniting the socialist countries of Europe and Asia. Countries including more than one billion people -- more than a third of the entire population of the globe -- have taken the path of the creation of a new socialist system. Led by the communist and workers' parties, the toilers of the countries of the socialist camp are building a new life, inspired by the great teachings of Lenin. Never before in history

has a social teaching gathered under its banner so many adherents and served as a guide to action for such gigantic masses!

There are no tasks which the billion people who have thrown off the chains of capitalist slavery would not be capable of shouldering. And the drawing of new hundreds and hundreds of people into the world development -- as Lenin pointed out -- means in its turn an enormous hastening of this development. The prospect, advanced in the decisions of the 21st CPSU Congress, of all-out construction of communism in the USSR and the more or less simultaneous transition to communism of all socialist countries; the successful accomplishment of the mighty plans of the development of the national economy and culture of the socialist states; the close economic collaboration of these countries on the basis of the international socialist division of labor and the joint planning of their labor efforts -- all this predetermines the further growth of the international significance of Leninism as a great teaching about the paths of liberation of the toilers from the chains of capitalism and the building of the communist system. The putting into effect of the marvelous ideas of V. I. Lenin is multiplying their attractive force, is giving Leninism world significance.

The communist parties in the countries of capital throughout many decades have become hardened, have grown stronger, and have acquired experience in the fire of class battles. At the congress convened after the death of V. I. Lenin, the Communist International recognized that "the line of Leninist strategy, tactics and organization ... should also in the future serve as the guiding thread for the Executive Committee of the Communist International." (Kommunisticheskiy International v dokumentakh /The Communist International in Documents/, Decisions, theses and appeals of the congresses of the Comintern and the plenums of the Executive Committee of the Communist International from 1919 to 1932, under the editorship of Bela Kun, Moscow, Party Publishing House, 1933, page 396.) The Communist parties then posed before themselves the task of "Bolshevizing" all their activity, in order to turn themselves into genuine parties of the new type, capable of carrying the masses along the Leninist path. The fifth expanded plenum of the Executive Committee of the Communist International noted that Leninism, "growing out of the teachings of Marx and the experience of the West, fought in the first ranks against the distortions of Marxism by the Western European Social Democrats.... At the same time, Leninism, making use of Marx's method, has been able to sum up also the experience of the great revolutionary movements in the Near and Far East and on the borders to the East -- in Russia, China, India, and so forth.... As the Russian revolution itself grew out of the entire international circumstances, so also Leninism is a product of the entire international proletarian movement." (Ibid., page 479.) The most important goal of the Communist International, which proclaimed the international character of Leninism, was: "To become an international organization embodying the theory and practice of Leninism." (Ibid., page 480.) And it achieved that goal.

Nowadays the international communist movement has been turned into a mighty force; it renders ever more mighty influence on the fate of mankind. Communist and workers parties exist in 85 countries of the world; the communist movement bears a truly international character, embracing all countries and continents. In the ranks of the communist parties are fighting nowadays more than 33,000,000 people, almost thirty times more than in the last year of Lenin's life. They represent the most advanced forces of each nation, they unite the best, courageous sons and daughters of the revolutionary proletariat.

In the ranks of trade unions following the communists there are now more than 95,000,000 people -- workers of Italy and France, India and Indonesia, Holland and Jamaica, Madagascar and Cameroons, Sudan and Costa Rica, and all the socialist countries. This means that the ideas of Lenin are lighting the path of the people of labor on our entire planet. The ideas of Lenin are enjoying growing recognition and sympathy among many ordinary workers who are Social Democrats. Life itself is convincing the workers that the only way out of their difficult position is socialism, and the only correct path to socialism is the path to which the communists are calling them, the path indicated by V. I. Lenin. Lenin's ideas of a firm peace among peoples is paving a road for itself among all those to whom war is hateful. And Lenin prizes crown the leading figures of the mass movement of the partisans of peace.

The great socialist power towers as a mighty prop to peace. "The end of wars, peace among peoples, the cessation of robbery and violence, is precisely our ideal," said Lenin. (V. I. Lenin, Works, Volume 21, page 264.) The lofty idea of peace among peoples, the Leninist principles of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems, are firmly defended and steadily followed by the Soviet socialist state. The Leninist idea of peace has seized the minds of millions of people in all countries. This is new testimony to the might of Leninism, its worldwide force.

The best representatives of the social movement, of world science, art, and literature, and outstanding cultural figures, recall V. I. Lenin with respect. Back in 1919 at a meeting in Paris the outstanding French writer and public figure Henri Barbusse declared: "The banner of the Socialist Republic of Soviets is the red banner of liberated people." (Henri Barbusse, Rachi bortsa [Speech of a Fighter], Petrograd, State Publishing House, page 166.) Bernard Shaw, an inveterate sceptic who had laid bare the scores of capitalist civilization with merciless sarcasm, said with deep emotion in one of his speeches: "Lenin found a method of avoiding the destruction of civilization. If his experiment succeeds, if other countries follow his example and his teaching, if this gigantic communist experiment spreads throughout the entire world, history will enter a new era.... This is what Lenin represents for us. If the future will be as Lenin foresaw it, a smile will light our faces, and we can expect a future without dangers." (Monde, 8 February 1935.)

The toilers of the entire world see in Lenin their own kindred man, infinitely close to them. "A man who shook the entire world, in whose consciousness everything that this world has lived and breathed was continually digested," said the French writer-communist Paul Vaen-Cuturier many years ago. "This man kept in himself to the end of his conscious life an astonishing capacity to feel and to think like a Chinese coolie, like a Negro porter. The oppressed Annamite or Hindu were for him just as understandable, just such an open book, as the Leningrad metal-worker, as the Paris textile-worker, as the miner of West Virginia." (Collection O Lenine [On Lenin], Moscow, 1939, Volume 1, page 124.) The Italian communist writer Giovanni Giermanetto related that even at the beginning of the 1920s, during Lenin's lifetime, his name was known in the most remote hamlets of Italy, in its large cities, in the barracks and the fishing villages, on the distant islands and in the mountain cabins lost in the Alpine snows. The workers named their first-born after Lenin. (See Ibid., page 89.)

The enemies of the workers' cause heaped slander on Lenin, shot thousands of arrows at him, but could not hinder the growth of the respect and love of the popular masses for Lenin. "And if the cloud of hatred for him," wrote the great Russian writer M. Gor'kiy, "if the cloud of lies and slanders around his name were still thicker, it would all be the same: there are no forces which could darken the torch raised by Lenin in the spiritual darkness of a world gone mad." (M. Gor'kiy, Sobr. Soch. [Collected Works], Volume 17, page 46, Moscow, 1952.)

Along the path of Lenin are moving hundreds of millions of toilers of the East who have thrown off the yoke of colonialism. As D. Aydit, the general secretary of the Communist Party of Indonesia, said, in its struggle for the interests of the toilers, for the strengthening of national unity, that party "is guided by the great theory of Marxism-Leninism." (20th Congress of the CPSU. Stenographic Report, Volume 1, page 547.) "All the exploited and the miserable ones," writes the leader [vozhd'] of the Party of Workers of Vietnam, Ho Chi Minh, "consider the banner of Lenin, which the communists of all countries are carrying, to be their symbol of faith and see it as the torch of their hope.... For the peoples of Asia, as for the peoples of the entire world fighting for peace, independence, democracy and socialism, Lenin's teachings are like the life-giving sun." (Ho Chi Minh, Izbrannyye stat'i i rechi [Selected Articles and Speeches], Moscow, State Publishing House for Political Literature, 1959, pages 557-558.)

Again and again Leninism is subjected to furious attacks from the camp of the enemies. The ideologists of reformism in the workers' movement, as before, try to substitute for the revolutionary teaching of Marxism-Leninism that inspires the conscious proletariat, a theory of "conciliation" of class contradictions, of the "ripening" of socialism within the framework of bourgeois society. The revisionists

who a few years ago raised their heads within the communist movement are again trying to push the communist parties from the path of Marxism-Leninism, to defend the rotten conception of "national communism," of a betrayal of that unity of world-view and revolutionary action which rallies together the family of fraternal communist and workers' parties. It is characteristic that the revisionists have applied and apply their main efforts to undermine the international, general significance of Marxist-Leninist theory. Thus J. Clark, who had worked in the Communist Party of the USA, asserted that the principles of Leninism are supposedly "unfit" for conditions of the highly developed capitalist countries of the West, reviving thereby the views of reformists of the type of O. Bauer and K. Kautskiy, views long ago refuted by the communists and routed by life. N. Shrank, who thinks like him, openly declared the "influence of the international Marxist movement" on the communist party to be the source of its "disorientation," and the renegade J. Gates went still further, proposing to exclude from the party statutes the reference to Marxism-Leninism as its ideological basis. Analogous attempts to oppose "Western Marxism" to Leninism were undertaken by the French revisionist A. Lefevre, who in the recently published book La Somme et Le Reste also tries to put forward the view that Leninism "departed" from classical Marxism.

The attacks of the anti-Marxists are being successfully repulsed by the communists. The declaration of the Consultation of representatives of the communist and workers' parties of the socialist countries, adopted in Moscow in 1957 and approved by all communist parties of the world, again confirmed the unbreakable fidelity of communists to Marxism-Leninism as the source of the strength and the guiding star of the world workers' movement. "The communist and workers' parties," it is said in the declaration, "should firmly adhere to the principles of combining the general truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the revolution and the construction of socialism in their own countries, creatively applying the general natural laws of the socialist revolution and of socialist construction in conformity with the concrete conditions of their countries." (Deklaratsiya Soveshchaniya predstaviteley kommunisticheskikh i rabochikh partiy sotsialisticheskikh stran v Moskve /Declaration of the Consultation of Representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties of the Socialist Countries in Moscow/, Moscow, State Publishing House for Political Literature, 1957, page 15.)

The declaration has outstanding, world-historic significance for the entire world communist movement. This programmatic document is playing an enormous role in the strengthening of the unity of the communist and workers' parties, in the strengthening of the international ties of workers of all countries, of the ideological unity of the communist and workers' parties, in the strengthening of the positions of Marxism-Leninism in the present ideological struggle. In the declaration the most cardinal problems of the present day -- the

problems of the construction of socialism -- are posed and creatively solved. The instruction contained in the declaration that under present conditions the main danger is revisionism, right opportunism, as a manifestation of bourgeois ideology, has facilitated the unfolding in all Marxist parties of a sharp theoretical battle against revisionism, opportunism, sectarianism, and dogmatism, and for the creative application and development of Marxism-Leninism.

Nowadays even the most inveterate enemies of communism do not dare to deny the extremely broad dissemination of the teachings of V. I. Lenin, of the ideas of Leninism. Fighting against the mighty influence of Leninism over the broad masses of the toilers, over the progressive strata of the intelligentsia, bourgeois ideologists one after another are publishing "works" on Leninism that are permeated with hostility to the working class. However, even in them there are contained vivid admissions of the international, world character and significance of this teaching. "It is undeniable that the ideas and activity of V. I. Lenin, leader [vozhd'] of the Russian revolution, in our days has seized the imagination of millions of people," admits the author of one of these monographs, the American reactionary professor and "specialist" on the ideological struggle with communism, Alfred Meyer. Meyer reluctantly explains such a painful fact for imperialism on the grounds that "this teaching has great attractive force." It is no accident that the rulers of the imperialist countries fear so the penetration to the masses of the ideas of Leninism and vainly try to block the way for those ideas by every sort of "iron curtain"!

Lenin's teachings are creatively elaborated and enriched in the decisions of the CPSU and of the fraternal communist and workers' parties, in the works of eminent figures of the world workers' and communist movement. In the course of the struggle of the entire nation for the victory of communism, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has enriched Marxist-Leninist teaching with new ideas. Leaning on the instructions of V. I. Lenin, the CPSU has creatively worked out questions of the natural laws of the growth of socialism into communism, of the creation of the material and technical base of the communist society, of the development of socialist democracy, of the natural laws of the development of the world system of socialism, and of peaceful coexistence of states with different social structures. The party has posed in a new way the problems of peace and war under contemporary conditions.

Other communist and workers' parties are also rendering a valuable contribution to the treasury of Marxist-Leninist theory. In particular, the communists of China, France, Italy, India, Indonesia and other countries have introduced into that treasury much that is original and based on the concrete conditions of their countries. All communist parties of the socialist countries are making a collective contribution to the theory of Marxism-Leninism by creatively applying the

general natural laws of socialist construction that have been verified by the experience of life, and the varied forms and methods of the construction of socialism in different countries. An example of the creative development of Marxism-Leninism on the basis of the collective experience of the communist parties is the Declaration of the Consultation of the representatives of communist and workers' parties of the socialist countries of 1957, in which the experience of the work of these parties in the creation and consolidation of the world socialist system is analyzed and summed up, in which the experience of the workers' movement in the capitalist countries and of the national liberation struggle of the peoples of the colonial and dependent countries is summed up, as well as all the experience of the international struggle for peace, democracy and socialism which has developed in the postwar years.

Great international significance attaches to the "Appeal of the Communist Parties of the Capitalist Countries of Europe to All Toilers, to All Democrats," adopted on 30 November 1959 in Rome at a meeting of representatives of seventeen communist parties of the countries of Western Europe, in which is advanced an all-out program of rallying all toilers and democrats for the struggle for peace, democracy and a happy future of the peoples. (See Pravda, No. 337, 3 December 1959.)

In the subsequent bold, creative development of the eternally living Marxist-Leninist theory, in the flight of searching thought, in the thoughtful generalization of the living experience of the masses and the parties, is the guarantee of the future victorious march of Leninism. The more successfully creative thought, born in the fire of practice, shall outdistance practice and light the way for it from ahead, the more the effectiveness of Leninism will grow, and its international significance. "Marxist-Leninist ideas," comrade N. S. Khrushchev said at the 21st Congress of the CPSU, "have for the international workers' movement, for the victory of communism, just such life-giving force as the sun's rays, as the light and warmth for plants, for life on earth. As life itself is limitless in its progressive movement, in its varied manifestations, just as unlimited is Marxist-Leninist theory in its development and enrichment by new experience and new principles." (N. S. Khrushchev, O kontrol'nykh tsifrakh razvitiya narodnogo khozyaystva SSSR na 1959-1965 gody [On the Control Figures of the Development of the National Economy of the USSR for the Years 1959-1965], Moscow, 1959, pages 129-130.)

Life is every day bringing newer and newer victories of communist ideology. Marx and Engels expressed the profound conviction that the 20th century would bring the world proletariat to victory. "For the oppressed classes of all countries," wrote Engels in September 1894, "the dawn is starting of a new, better society (without exploitation of man by man). And everywhere the oppressed are closing their ranks, everywhere they are acting in concert, despite boundaries, despite different languages. An army of the world proletariat is

forming, and the new century which is coming will bring it to victory." (K. Marx and F. Engels, Soch. [Works], Volume 16, part 2, pages 432-433.)

This scientific prevision is now being approached before our eyes. The world system of socialism is growing and strengthening, attaining newer and newer victories in the competition with capitalism.

The triumphant international banner of Leninism is fluttering over the world and is summoning to new victories.

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